India

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NOTES AND NEWS.

LORD KITCHENER'S annuity is to be proposed in the House of Commons on Monday next. The pity of it is that India has no direct representatives to express during the debate the burning indignation which the destruction of the Mahdi's tomb and, still more, the mutilation of his corpse excited among Hindus and Mahometans alike. One sees the outrage dismissed by Ministerial organs at home as a "small detail." But it is such "small details," and the manifest disposition to condone them, that are undermining the moral repute of England as a civilising Power.

The *Tribune* in an article entitled "They Can't Understand Us!" draws attention to certain characteristics of the Englishman which make it difficult for him to judge foreign nations impartially. To the peoples of continental Europe this is a matter of small concern, but to the Indians, whose happiness is so often dependent on the enlightenment and right judgment of their rulers, it is a serious matter. As our contemporary remarks:—

> The singularly rigid temperament of the Englishman does not allow him to place himself in the attitude of others and to look at things from their point of view.

It is this trait of his strong and masterful character that has made him so much disliked by foreigners, and it is well to remember it before giving too implicit credence to all that Anglo-Indians have to say about the vices and follies of Indians.

The Americans, now that they are embarking on a career of Empire, naturally look to those old hands, the English, to give them the advantage of their experience. Rudyard Kipling told them that the secret of Imperial rule was that the White Man should bear the burden of those whom he had in the generosity of his heart undertaken to civilise. General Cummins, of Madras, who has been interviewed by the *Chicago Citizen*, takes another view. He says:—

> If opposition shows itself in the East it must be crushed. Strike hard and remorselessly if you have to strike. When you encounter an armed enemy you must slay, and slay, and slay until all opposition is overborne.

This is too much for the *Citizen*, which has not yet been broken into work of the kind. The General is described in an article headed "British Murder Ethics" as "a specimen of the cold-blooded assassins" who have "made a desert of India and called it peace." And it exclaims:—"God help the unhappy millions who groan and bleed beneath the barbarous sway of the 'modern scourge of God.'" The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is also shocked at the General's sentiments. But surely an ounce of truth is worth a pound of cant. No better service could be done to the American people or the world at large than to tell them plainly what a policy of expansion involves. It is make-believe that does the mischief: the advice that makes a nation embark on such a policy with a light heart, only to find what it entails when it is too late to retreat. Our Indian contemporary admits that great numbers of Englishmen share the General's views.

Lalit Mohun Ghosal, in a letter to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, gives an account of an extraordinary assault which he witnessed at Dum Dum junction. The train was late and many passengers were awaiting its arrival. Abdul, a Mussulman, who happened to be standing next a European asked him the time in the vernacular and immediately afterwards translated his question into English, "What time, Saheb?" The European thereupon struck his questioner with his cane, and when Abdul, who seemed puzzled, made another remark, pushed him away and ordered his servant to drive him from the platform. The writer of the letter asserts that the European who committed this assault, and who was in civil dress, was a lieutenant attached to the Royal Irish Rifles lately returned from South Africa and now stationed at Dum Dum. If so the case is very serious, and it is to be hoped that a proper enquiry will be made by the military authorities. It is useless to expect good conduct from privates if their officers set them such an example as this.

We referred last week (page 253) to a case of outrage reported by the *Bengalee*, for which certain soldiers of the West Kent Regiment had been arrested. The *Morning Leader* of yesterday (Thursday) printed the following telegram from its correspondent at Bombay:—

> An elderly native woman has been outraged by a dozen soldiers of the West Kent Regiment in an open space in broad daylight near a temple. The woman died; and on a charge of causing her death a soldier has been tried and acquitted by a European jury.
>
> Great indignation is expressed by the native Press at the affair, and a personal appeal is to be made to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy.

Is there anything which more plainly needs the early attention of Parliament than the frequent occurrence of cases of this appalling type in India?

Except the British islands, there seems to be no place within our boasted Empire where a poor Indian can escape a beating. From the Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad, which is the second in importance of the British West India Islands, comes a gruesome story of the fate of Sahti, an Indian coolie on a sugar estate owned by a Mr. Henderson. On March 2 Sahti, who had been in and out of hospital for some time, was re-admitted to the district hospital, "suffering," said the dispenser, "from contusions and weals on the forearm and back, and nowhere else." Said Dr. C. B. Reid:—

> Sahti showed me four weals on the back and three on the forearms. He said he had been beaten. The longest weal was not more than twelve inches in length; those on the forearm were much less. They may have been produced by a small cane, or a stick or a hunter. The skin was slightly raised and whitish; the weals were red at the edges. The skin was unbroken, and there was no sign of any bleeding. He did not complain of having struck or been struck on the head. He did not complain of headache.

According to Dr. Reid, all the marks of the blows had vanished by the 8th; Sahti was discharged on the 11th; he worked a full day on the 13th; and on the 16th he died. Dr. Reid at the inquest refused to connect the death with the beating; "the death," he said, "was not even precipitated by the beating." A special board of three members of the medical board of the colony was appointed by the surgeon-general to ascertain the cause of Sahti's death and report. The report declared that Sahti died of "cerebral apoplexy," "not precipitated or occasioned by the beating" alleged.

We do not understand where the weals on Sahti's body could have come from, if not from a beating. In fact there was evidence of a bad beating. At the inquest Bagwan, another indentured coolie on the estate, deposed that on March 2 Sahti had been beaten "by Mr. Freddy Henderson (a son of the owner) because he could not do his work in the boiling house as he was suffering from pain in the stomach." This is his description:—

> The deceased was beaten all over his body, wherever the stick fell: on the side, back, and head—anywhere the stick fell. The stick was a curved one, with a leathern thong at one end, and it was with this end that Mr. Henderson struck the coolie. Then Sahti fell to the ground and his head struck the stones on the ground

near No. 3 boiler. Nothing happened to him on the ground. Then Henderson went away. Then Sahti became unconscious.

Further, Seecharan another Indian coolie, deposed :—

Sahti was beaten by Mr. Freddy . . . . because he said he was not able to work on account of his having a stomachache. Sahti was beaten with a stick as long as my arm, with a piece of leather attached to one end, and with a crook at the other end. He was beaten with the leather end, and the blows fell on the sides, breast, and back. . . . . During the beating Sahti fell down and became unconscious, remaining so for an hour and a half. Sahti's head struck the ground, which was of boards. . . . . While Sahti lay on the ground unconscious, he was kicked by Mr. Freddy on the right side. Mr. Freddy then left him lying there and went away.

Yet another Indian coolie, Mowlaboksh, said :—

Sahti was beaten by Mr. Freddy on the two hands, two sides, back, and chest. He was knocked down, and struck on the head; and then, while he lay on the ground, he was kicked on the right side by Mr. Freddy. Sahti fell on a board floor. He remained lying there unconscious for about an hour and a-half.

"Mr. Freddy" was charged with manslaughter, but, on the doctor's evidence, the coroner discharged him. His counsel intimated that "if the question had arisen as to whether or not the man Sahti was beaten at all by Mr. Fredrick Henderson, we should have been able to put quite a different complexion on the case." For ourselves, we leave the case as it stands, not without amazement.

Mr. Weir, District Magistrate, has sentenced a Hindu preacher at Ootacamund to eight months' hard labour for having given offence to Christians. The *Madras Times*, which the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* refers to as a Christian paper, speaks of the punishment as severe. But when it is remembered how harshly and with what insults Christian missionaries often refer to the religions of India, if this sentence is allowed to stand it will be an atrocious injustice. In fact, considering that the poverty-stricken people of India are taxed in order to support Christian clergymen in whose religion they do not believe, the conduct of Christians in attacking the Indian creeds and worship is doubly blameworthy. It is to be hoped, if we are to enter upon a period of religious prosecutions, that the Government and the Magistrates will deal impartially in the matter, and send all missionaries and others to gaol who give offence to Mahometans or Hindus.

That missionaries do give offence to Hindus will hardly be denied. A case in point is that of the Rev. J. A. Sharrock who in the October number of the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* made the following statements :

(1) Hinduism being a pure matter of ceremony places no check on vice and demands no change of heart.
(2) To seduce an unmarried woman is no sin at all.
(3) The Hindus as a race are probably the most immoral, treacherous, and cunning people on the face of the earth.

This, it would seem, besides giving offence to Hindus, is clearly punishable under the new Sedition Act as tending to create enmity between Hindus and Christians; but no prosecution has yet been instituted. We are far from desiring that such matters should be dealt with in the Criminal Courts; but if Hindu preachers are to be prosecuted, why should Christian missionaries escape? We are for one weight and one measure.

To show the feelings of the Indians, we print the following :—

Trichinopoly, April 23, 1899.

Proceedings of the public meeting held in the National High School, Trichinopoly, on April 23, 1899, with Bro. P. G. Sundaresa Sastriar, B.A., in the chair.

Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras addressed the meeting.

Resolved: (1) That, in the opinion of this meeting, the utterances of Rev. J. A. Sharrock, M.A., of the S. P. G. Mission, in public meetings too numerous to mention, and especially his statements in the October number of the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* of 1898, are highly shocking to the feelings of the Hindu community, on whose character it forms a gross libel, unworthy of a Christian missionary, and

(2) That the S. P. G. Mission be requested to be pleased to take severe notice of this reprehensible conduct of the said gentleman, and do the needful.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the speaker and to the chairman.

P. G. Sundaresa Sastriar, *Chairman*.

There has lately been a great day at Durban, in the Colony of Natal. A statue of the Queen was unveiled to commemorate her Diamond Jubilee. But in this glorious Empire of ours loyalty is apparently to be the property of one race only. In London the Queen could be followed by Indian troops, but they know better in Natal. At the unveiling of the statue the school children of Durban were to walk in procession. The authorities of the Indian and the Native schools asked that their scholars might take part. But after a discussion in the local press, and although the expenses were to be defrayed from public funds, the Mayor decided that "European" children only should be present. This new development of the Imperial idea was carried still further on the day itself. "An Indian" writes to the *Natal Mercury* to the effect that he and a friend were standing on the footpath listening to the Governor's speech when a Native constable ordered them to "clear off" the footpath. The Indian asked, "Are we not allowed to stand on the footpath?" whereupon he was pushed away, and falling injured one of his legs. He naturally wishes to know where the constable got his orders from. We congratulate the Mayor and people of Durban on their loyalty in making the unveiling of the Queen's statue an occasion of insulting their Indian fellow-subjects, and on their Imperial patriotism in showing the world what ill-feeling may exist among the races "united" in our Imperial greatness. It is truly a fine way to teach Indian children to be loyal to Queen and Empire.

At a meeting of the London Indian Society, held on Saturday last, May 27, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

That this meeting views with concern the continued agitation of British colonists in South Africa to exclude from British dominions there her Majesty's British Indian subjects and to deny to them the ordinary rights of free trade which are enjoyed by them in security and peace in some parts of South Africa even under the flag of the Portuguese, French, German, and Dutch Governments, and urges upon her Majesty's Government the necessity of immediate energetic and sympathetic action on their behalf to secure their just and equitable treatment as British subjects.

In these days when Imperialism is being talked about everywhere, and unfortunately without much effective appreciation of its meaning, it is a pleasure to note that serious attention is being directed to it by responsible thinkers. Our attention has been drawn to a course of lectures on "The Economic Implications of Imperialism," by Professor Hewins, at the London School of Economics, 10, Adelphi Terrace. It is proposed by the examination of historical sources to give as far as possible definiteness and precision to the ideas conveyed by the term "Imperialism," with special reference to the United Kingdom and the British colonies and dependencies, and to discuss the implications of Imperialism in relation to (1) Social questions, (2) Commercial policy, and (3) Public finance respectively. We have no doubt that many of the Indian students in London will find these lectures interesting and valuable.

The *Madras Mail* strongly supports the *Pioneer* in its crusade against the constant interchange of appointments. In an article headed "Out of Touch with the People," it endorses all that the *Pioneer* has lately said on the impossibility of men learning the languages of the country under such circumstances. The breaks in continuity, the devolution of power into the hands of subordinates, above all the loss of confidence are still more serious results. A recent paper by "a Bengal civilian" in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* goes even further. He proposes that the civilian once appointed to a district should be *wedded* to it, and he declares emphatically that "the district officer of the present day does not hold the confidence of the people so strongly as those who went before him." As the *Mail* puts it :—

The worst of it is that officer and people alike are beginning to accept as inevitable their mutual estrangement, and give up the thought of putting an end to it.

This allegation of estrangement between the people and the higher district officials is no claptrap, no false assumption of the superiority of the past over the present.

The *Friend of India*, too, while considering many of "a Bengal civilian's" suggestions reactionary, yet agrees in the urgent need of remedying the estrangement to which he calls attention. Such a consensus of opinion between three of the chief Anglo-Indian newspapers should give pause to those "Imperialists" who in this country are never weary of declaring the perfection of our Indian Government.

According to the Allahabad correspondent of the *Times*, Colonel Mackenzie, proposing the Viceroy's health at a cavalry dinner at Simla last Saturday, said: "I am sure I express the unanimous feeling of you all in hoping that his Excellency's reign may be one of unbroken peace." But "this elicited loud murmurs." Lord Curzon, in the course of his reply, said: "I observed that certain of his (Colonel Mackenzie's) observations were received with murmurs, somewhat deeply echoed by the Commander-in-Chief." Yet, although the Government of India is under the control of soldiers, there are English people who wonder that there are so many wars beyond the Indian frontier.

India may well be proud of the honesty of the Native subordinates in the Indian Post Office. Ill-paid as they for the most part are, the percentage of loss through dishonesty is very small. But the *Tribune* sees nothing to marvel at in this. It points out that the older English writers on India, at a time when Anglo-Indians knew much more of the people, bear strong testimony to the Indians' honesty and sense of honour in money matters. In those times, when they occupied more responsible posts than they do to-day,

> The sight of humble durwans and chaprasis on five or six rupees a month carrying great bags of bullion and cash from one banking or mercantile house to another or from the office of the Treasury excited the wonder and admiration of European new-comers who had only read the missionary caricatures of the heathen Gentoo before, to the same extent that the honesty of the postal subordinate does to-day.

The *Tribune* is inclined to think that contact with the West has for the moment had a deteriorating effect on the Indian character, the weaker race, as usually happens, when conquered, tending to acquire the less reputable traits of the stronger. But at bottom the Indians still merit what the earlier observers said of them.

There is a disposition in some quarters to complain that the construction of the Goktiek viaduct has been given to an American company. But this is not an isolated case. The *Pioneer* tells us that the making of the Atbara bridge has also been obtained by an American firm, who offered to do in forty-two days and for £6,500, what their English competitors could only complete in six months and a-half for £10,000. To the "Imperialist" who boasts of the great material advantage of our Empire to the English people all this must be a sad blow. It is certainly no gain to the Indians that Americans rather than Englishmen should have the construction of their bridges. But it would be a monstrous injustice that the poor Indians should have to pay more for the work in order that it might be done by English firms. India is too poor to pay for such Imperial luxuries.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* points the attention of Lord Curzon to the glaring fact that "the way the resources of India are frittered away is immoral in the extreme." It recalls the statement of Mr. Maclean :—

> It is literally true that, at the present moment, out of the fifty millions of net revenue, half comes to England to pay the Home Charges, while probably another third is spent on the army, which is mainly employed in guarding the frontier. Very little of the Indian revenue is spent in fact in India at all.

What our contemporary most reasonably urges is (1) that the local administrations should no longer be plundered of their economies, and (2) that the proceeds derived from the road cess should be made over absolutely to those that pay it. To ask this is only to ask what has been solemnly promised by Government. To get it is another matter, for this implies a recovery from the effects of mischievous policy and a definitive determination of the Government to proceed on other lines. Still, there may be a lesson in recent events which may prove of at least temporary efficacy.

The railway fever appears to have attacked the Native States pretty severely. On March 27, in reply to Sir John Leng, Lord George Hamilton stated that the Mahárájá of Kashmir contemplated the construction of a railway 175 miles in length, from Jarwal to Srinagar, and that, while the Government had encouraged the consideration of the scheme, they did not propose to incur any financial liability. On May 8 he gave Rx.1,500,000 as the anticipated cost of the line. At the same time he intimated that the aggregate mileage under construction or projected during the next three years within Native territory and at the expense of Native States was 1,087 miles, the cost to be Rx.5,800,000, the Kashmir scheme included. Besides Kashmir the States of Haidarabad, Jodhpur, Jeypur, Gwalior, Maisur, Oodeypur, Bickanir, Rewa, and Rajpipla are struck with the railway fever. We could have wished that Lord George Hamilton had given a plain answer to Sir John Leng's enquiry, "On what terms as to interest, acquisition of lands, and jurisdiction were these railway advances made by these States, and were the Princes and chiefs treated with as free agents in these transactions?" Perhaps Lord George meant to snub the element of possible suspicion in the query; at any rate he only replied that "the terms and conditions vary in each case," which is not very illuminative. It is now stated that Kashmir has saved up enough to pay for its line, notwithstanding the alleged conduct of the late Mahárájá. It will, in any case, be of good example if the action of Native States lead the people of India generally to exchange hoarding for investment—under conditions. The *Pioneer* remarks that "the India of the Rájás is no longer content to stand aside from the work of development, but is keenly alive to all its advantages, present and prospective." The India of the Rájás would probably do much better if it had a freer hand.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* hears "that the Government are prepared to give an early day for the discussion on the question of the Indian sugar bounties legislation. The India Office, in fact, declares itself anxious for a debate as soon as possible, and if a day cannot be found next week the discussion will be taken early in the week after. Something, of course, depends on the convenience of the Opposition leaders. The original understanding was that the discussion would be taken on Monday week."

Mr. G. Paramaswaran Pillai has republished in pamphlet form a series of short sketches of "Indian Congress-men" from the columns of the *Madras Standard*. The sketches make no pretence to fulness or uniformity, but for the most part indicate in a few bold strokes the leading characteristics of the various personages. The letterpress is agreeably supplemented by a number of photographs, which will be welcomed on this side as showing the living appearance of the distinguished men. The selection of these, too, seems to be determined by accident, and not by any intention to discriminate for or against any particular person. We should certainly have preferred a fuller record, but such as it is the little group is very interesting, and the sketches will bring the men nearer to the readers, who we hope will be legion.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal addressed a large meeting at Smallheath, Birmingham, on Monday last, May 29, on "England's Responsibilities in India." The chair was taken by the Rev. Joseph Wood, a late President and now a Vice-President of the Birmingham Liberal Association. Birmingham, Mr. Wood said, had special connexions with, and very sacred memories about, India, owing to its former member, Mr. John Bright, having been throughout his Parliamentary career regarded as in some special sense the "member for India." Mr. Pal, in an address of an hour and a quarter, referred among other things to the recent reactionary measures of the Indian Government, the curtailment of popular rights through the new Press laws, the exclusion of native Indians from the higher posts in the educational service of their country by the recent reorganisation of the Education Department, the crippling of municipal self-government, exchange compensation allowance, and the frontier wars. In bringing the proceedings to a close, Mr. Wood said that the chief field of work for Indian patriots and reformers was not in India, but in England. "Englishmen knew very little of what was being done by their representatives in India, and once they come to know of the things that Mr. Pal had placed before them that night the innate sense of justice of the nation would be at once aroused, and the responsible authorities would be compelled to administer the affairs of India with justice and in the interests more of the people of the country."

THE RISE OF PORTUGUESE POWER IN INDIA.[1]

IN the fifteenth century the opening up of a new way to India and the East had become a matter of necessity. One by one the overland routes had been closed by the conquests of the Ottoman Turks, till only that through Egypt remained, and Egypt itself was threatened, and indeed fell early in the next century. The nations of Europe which had to subsist on coarse meat at the best of times and to depend in winter on the powdering tub found themselves in danger of being left without their supply of spices which occupied so great a part in the cookery of the time. What wonder if the Portuguese, who were so well situated for the work, left the barren fighting in North Africa to explore the Western shores of the continent, lest haply there might be a turning point and a new way to India; for could the way be found the profit would be enormous. And at last they were rewarded. The Cape was rounded, and the East lay open before them. The frowning defence of mountains that guarded Western Asia, never pierced, or pierced by Alexander alone, was turned, and the Indian seas were at the mercy of the spoiler. By the Pope's decree, while the West fell to Spain, Portugal was given the East; and in the book before us Mr. Whiteway, a retired Civilian, has set forth with judgment and ample research the story of what they made of it—a story of romance and heroism, of greed and degradation, full of interest and instruction for us who have succeeded to their power. It is to be hoped that the author will give us, as he almost promises, another volume on the decline of the Portuguese dominion.

The ignorance of the Portuguese concerning the countries in which they were to play so great a part is scarcely credible. They were even under the impression that all Indians, save the followers of Mahomet, were Christians. Vasco da Gama and his companions, on their way to the Court of the Samuri, who ruled in Calicut and had made that city a great centre of trade by protecting the Mahometan merchants, actually worshipped in a Hindu temple, under the impression that, as the people were Christians, it must be a Christian Church. They were, it is true, somewhat astonished at finding saints, as they took them to be, represented with teeth projecting a thumb's length from their mouths and with four or five arms apiece. After a time they came to the conclusion that the Indians, though Christians, were ignorant and required instruction.

The state of India was different from what it had become in the times of Dupleix and Clive. The Portuguese had not the advantage of the decaying Mogul Empire ready to the strong hand. They could only play off one petty chieftain, against another, and make friends with the Rájá of Cochin by destroying the trade of the Rájá of Calicut. But their superiority in arms and discipline was as marked as was that of the English at Plassey. We read of multitudes of the enemy slaughtered with no loss to the Portuguese; of a hundred men defending a post against sixty thousand, and of ten Portuguese falling where eight hundred Mahometans lost their lives. In Southern India the Brahmins had introduced a code of warfare, designed to mitigate its barbarity, such as that there should be no fighting at night, that battles should only commence at a given signal and so forth. The Portuguese who were under no such restraints, took advantage of all this, and the system soon broke down after their arrival. But they never attempted to found a great land Empire. They contented themselves at first with erecting forts to awe the chief trading towns. Even later, after Albuquerque had conquered the island of Goa, it was considered by many as a doubtful policy to annex the contiguous districts of the mainland. One truth was generally recognised—Portugal could only maintain herself in India by maintaining her supremacy in the Eastern seas.

It is natural to compare the Empire of Portugal with that of England. They both ultimately rested on sea-power. They both were the work of a very small number of men drawn from a small and distant country. They both began in trade and ended in dominion. Nay, there is a certain likeness in some of the details of administration. The "settlement" of the Goa villages is still extant, where the West first came in contact with the Indian Village Community. But the differences are very marked and may account for the different fates of the two Empires. The Portuguese were, to an extent that the English have never been, even in the worst times, free from any fear of being called to account for their treatment of the people of the country. "Not only did the Portuguese lose all dread of punishment for any misdeed, but the natives of India lost all belief they might ever have had in Portuguese justice." Should it ever become the fixed belief in British India that justice is a respecter of persons, the English Empire in India will have entered on its decline. Again the Portuguese never recognised "the value of downright honesty in dealing with the Eastern peoples." In the game of intrigue the Eastern won. Albuquerque had, indeed, a true instinct. "I am known all over India," he tells the king, "as a man of my word; if I send for a Mahometan from anywhere, he comes and demands no security. India, sire, in my time, is governed with truth and justice, though it is true the people of these parts speak little truth to us, but we must not treat them in the same way." Albuquerque did not always act up to this. The other Portuguese Governors never tried to do so. But the English have learned the secret, though even Clive did not know it.

It is, however, in their treatment of the Indian religions that the greatest difference between the two nations is apparent. In 1540 all the temples in Goa were ordered to be destroyed. The ecclesiastics took possession of the endowments, kindly promising in return, on behalf of the Deity, that the increase in the productive power of the villages would repay this a hundredfold. When an infidel died, his children, if minors, were handed over to the State to be brought up as Christians. The Portuguese quarrelled with their old ally, the Rájá of Cochin, owing to their plundering one of his temples. Yet their own religion was an excuse for treachery as well as cruelty. Correa swore his treaty of peace with the King of Pegu on an old song-book, partly because it was his "most imposing looking volume," partly because, as he cynically remarked, neither side intended to keep the treaty longer than was necessary. At an earlier date, in 1524, it was said "up to now the Portuguese have considered that the Moors should abide by a peace and that they need not."

It is not surprising, then, that Mr. Whiteway is of opinion that "the Indians of that day were more civilised than the Portuguese." St. Francis Xavier gives a lurid account of the state of morality among his countrymen in India:—

> There is here a power which I may call irresistible to thrust men headlong into the abyss, where, besides the seductions of gain and the easy opportunities of plunder, their appetites for greed will be sharpened by having tasted it, and there will be a whole torrent of low examples and evil customs to overwhelm them and sweep them away. Robbery is so public and common that it hurts no-one's character and is hardly counted a fault. . . . . Everywhere and at all times it is rapine, hoarding and robbery.

Much as was the evil Portugal did to India, it was as nothing to the evil Portugal's ambition inflicted on herself. Her Empire was never self-supporting. The Government could only be carried on by plundering the commerce of the Indian seas. From the East came a stream of returning adventurers bringing back to Portugal the evil habits and manners they had acquired in India. Patient labour grew to be despised. The affairs of Portugal were overshadowed by her great dependency. Even Albuquerque could say: "Portugal is a small country. What employment is there that is one-half of one-third of that of the Governor of India?" And above all there was the drain of men to the East. The stream that returned was something very different from the great river that flowed out. Disease and shipwreck carried off multitudes. After the Turks, with their artillery, found their way into the Indian ocean, war became less of play. To fill the gaps which the mother country could no longer supply, marriages with native women were favoured, but the progeny had not their fathers' vigour. Even in Portugal, as the boldest spirits made their way to the Indies, civic virtue declined, and the triumph of the priests prepared the way for the victory of the Spaniards. India was avenged.

Yet there was one man among the rulers of Portuguese India who rose above the sordid crew that surrounded him, and has left a name famous no less for the common virtues of patriotism and courage than for those rarer ones of

[1] "The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550." By R. S. Whiteway, Bengal Civil Service (retired). Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co. 1899.

justice and sincerity. Albuquerque, who was Governor from 1509 to 1515, was no mild and merciful ruler, but at least he kept faith. His tomb at Goa became a place of pilgrimage to Mahometans and Hindus, who there prayed for his protection against his successors. He looked beyond the days of war to an era of peace and order, which he was never to see. Here is the story of his death :—

> He longed with a feverish longing to see Goa before he died, and with a last effort he stood up as the ship crossed the bar and leaned against the door frame to get one more view. Early on Sunday, December 16, as the ship was casting anchor in front of Goa, he died dressed as he wished in the habit of the order of St. James. In the morning, seated almost upright, with his eyes half open, with the captains of the fleet around, and his royal banner which preceded him in battle unfurled before him, he was taken on shore to the chapel he had built. The grief of the people of Goa, whether Christians or not, was deep and general. "He has only gone," said the lower sort, "because God has need of him to fight battles elsewhere."

So died the last Governor who left an honoured name to illumine even the sordid history of Portuguese India.

MORE SIDELIGHTS ON THE INDIAN FAMINE.

By E. H. Pickersgill, M.P.

THE latest volume of the Appendix to the Report of the Indian Famine Commission contains a memorandum on the Provincial Famine Codes, from which it appears that a provisional code was promulgated in 1883, that the procedure founded thereupon was subjected to fresh scrutiny in 1889, that revised codes based on the provisional code of 1883 as adapted to local circumstances or improved by the light of experience were sanctioned by the Government of India about the year 1894, and that these revised codes as subsequently amended from time to time are now in force. It will thus be seen that the principles and rules to be followed in periods of famine have been carefully considered and repeatedly brought under review. The Blue-books show, however, frequent deviations from the courses prescribed by the codes. It may be that some of these deviations do not involve an important departure from the principles laid down, while others may have been justified by the particular circumstances of the case. But I think that when every allowance is made the policy of the Bombay Government as regards the collection of land revenue in the famine-stricken districts of their Presidency demands very serious reprobation. The Famine Relief Code requires that no agriculturist should be compelled to borrow from money-lenders in order to pay the land revenue. The Famine Commissioners further enunciated the principle that the revenue is to be paid from the agricultural *surplus* produce and not from non-agricultural income. Both rules were violated. In Bijapur, a district in which the crops wholly failed, no revenue was remitted and less than one-fifth of the demand was suspended. In January, 1897, with the express sanction of the Bombay Government, notices preliminary to the forfeiture of occupancy were issued on all defaulters, except such agriculturist occupiers as had not obtained a four-anna crop (25 per cent. of an average crop) and were also not able, in the Mamlatdars' opinion, without "undue difficulty" to pay the land revenue. As the Famine Commissioners somewhat caustically observe in their report, "the question as to what should be held to be 'undue difficulty' appears to have been left to the discretion of the district authorities."

In the Kolaba district the statistics show that the amount of revenue realised in the famine year was actually greater than the amount realised in the previous year. How this result was attained is perhaps explained in a letter published in the *Times of India*, which stated that nine-tenths at least of the agriculturists of Avas, in the Kolaba district, were driven to borrow from the Sowkars in order to pay their land revenue. But even this was not all. It was admitted in answer to an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council, that agriculturists in the Taluka of Dhulia in the Khandish district had been compelled to pay in one sum in the famine year land revenue which was ordinarily recoverable in two instalments, and that almost "all the occupants, *probably including some who would have been held entitled to suspension*, forthwith paid this assessment." This extraordinary proceeding was defended by the Government on the alleged ground that some "agitators" had been inciting the people to withhold the land revenue. Lord George Hamilton has made us familiar in the House of Commons with stories of these alleged "agitators," and the ridiculous character of the charges against them has been in several instances exposed. The reiteration of the word "agitators" does not prove their existence: and in any case it is unreasonable and unjust to punish the rayats for the sins of the agitators.

It is sometimes complacently assumed in the House of Commons and elsewhere that the payment of land revenue proves *ability* to pay it. Enough has already been said to show that in any true sense of the term it proves nothing of the kind. As a further illustration the evidence given before the Famine Commissioners by a Mamlatdar of Sholapur may be cited. He was asked, "How did people pay their land revenue last year?" and he replied, "*By the sale of bullocks or savings from relief-works wages.*" Mr. Weir, Acting Collector at Sholapur, also stated that he knew instances of the Government assessment being paid out of the savings of the labourers on the works. Mr. Muir-Mackenzie, Director of Agriculture, Bombay, said that no doubt considerable sums were borrowed for the payment of the Government assessment. It is thus established by an overwhelming body of evidence of different kinds and proceeding from diverse quarters, that a vital principle of the Famine Code was disregarded by the Government of Bombay.

I pass on to another topic. All the codes refer to the grant of statutory loans and advances in time of famine, and some of the codes lay special stress on encouraging the people to take them. In the Bombay Presidency the grant of advances during the famine year was upon a scale altogether unprecedented. The sums advanced amounted in the famine districts to over one-fourth of the total land revenue demand, and in the district of Bijapur to no less than seventy-nine per cent. The aggregate amount for the affected districts was forty-four lakhs. But though the sum advanced was large, we are informed on official authority that it was not nearly sufficient to meet a reasonable proportion of the applications. It would seem that the experiences of the recent famine have led more than one official to turn their attention to the development of the system of State loans in normal years. Thus Mr. Enthoven, Collector of Belgaum, regards "the substitution of a Government department for the village money-lender as the agriculturists' capitalist" in the light of "a reform which may fairly be considered of vital interest to both the Government occupant and the State itself." In his judgment "it is difficult to discover any question which may in the near future attain equal importance as bearing on the welfare of the agricultural population of this part of India." Further, he points out that one of the results of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act has been that the money-lenders insist upon substituting fictitious deeds-of-sale for mortgage-bonds, and this in its turn has led to a greater demand on the part of the cultivators for assistance from Government. It is significant that Mr. Euthoven's views upon this subject are shared by Mr. Muir-Mackenzie, the present Director of Agriculture, who avows himself to be "a strong advocate of a large development of the system of State advances," and is indeed so much enamoured of the scheme that he "sees no reason why money should not even be borrowed by the Imperial Government for the purpose." All this is to the good so far as it indicates a growing sense in official circles that something must be done to improve the condition of the rayats. But a mere extension of the system of State loans for land improvement will not suffice. The attempt to make those advances through official agency has not been a success in any part of India. One is driven to the conclusion that we must look to private enterprise, assisted of course by State concessions, for any real progress in this direction. It is interesting to recall that it was in this very part of the country that the scheme to establish agricultural banks took shape in 1882. Everything that has happened in the interval has confirmed the wisdom and the practicability of those proposals, while the Indians are even more capable now than they were then of intelligent co-operation for the common good. If the Bombay Government would now revive the scheme of 1882, it would promote a reform (to use Mr. Enthoven's words) "of vital interest both to the occupant and to the State itself."

One of the most interesting documents in the Bombay

Blue-book is a written statement by the chairman and the honorary secretaries of the Sarvajanik Sabha at Poona. It is a powerful but temperate and admirably-reasoned criticism of the policy of the Government, and it refers (*inter alia*) to two subjects to which I desire to call special attention. The first is the terrible mortality among cattle during the recent famine. As a remedial measure in the future, they suggest, "not only in the interests of the peasant but also of the revenue," the sale on an extensive scale of cheap fodder by the Government in the affected districts. It is very interesting to note that precisely the same suggestion is made by Mr. Muir-Mackenzie, the Director of Agriculture, who develops an elaborate scheme by which it may be carried out. The other subject is the relief of weavers and other artisans in time of famine. The statement points out that Section 151A of the Bombay Famine Code, 1896, makes it practically imperative to grant relief to weavers "where they are congregated together in considerable numbers either in the same village or town or in a group of contiguous villages." The statement proceeds to show, however, that the Bombay authorities obtained the sanction of the Supreme Government to an amendment of this section limiting the special relief to such weavers "as are deemed incapable of gaining a livelihood on the ordinary relief works." The Sabha add that "as a result of this new provision the weavers had to undergo terrible sufferings, which might have been avoided with a small expenditure of public money." There is a considerable body of evidence in the Blue-book which tends to bear out this statement, and the Famine Commissioners in effect condemned the policy pursued by the Bombay Government.

A NOVEL OF THE NORTH-WEST.[1]

A NAUGHTY word is "Transgression," and a vague, but it serves well to raise speculation as to who has gone beyond the line, and what line, and under what circumstances, and what was the conclusion of the whole matter. Mr. Thorburn, in fact, has in his mind's eye two lines; the material boundary between British-Indian and North-West tribal soil, and the not quite immaterial limits of the respective spheres of married man and maid. Colonel Fitzhugh, C.B., "second-class Resident in charge of the wild frontier district known as Pechistan," "our latest acquisition on the North-West Frontier of India," "a big, handsome man, whose generally frank, open countenance was impressed with a strange duality of expression," "had a beautiful wife, who was the mother of a beautiful boy;" but Mrs. Fitzhugh was "better fitted for the cloister than the hearth," and lavished her love on her beautiful boy, so that the Colonel had to content himself with a "chastely cold affection." To this family circle enters Miss Dolly Carew, a cousin, who had just quarrelled with Mr. Jack Hargraves on the eve of intended marriage, and had rushed off for solace to Mankiala while Jack distracted his attention with gold-finding on the Rand. A sprightly, fresh, "innocent-wicked" damsel, this Dolly; and her advent worked alterations in the Fitzhugh household, by no means improbable and certainly not a little agitating. For the details we must leave the reader to consult Mr. Thorburn; "transgression" there was, admittedly. The story illustrates generally the life on the far frontier, but it is easy to see that Mr. Thorburn's mind is running chiefly on the political situation: the relations of Government and Resident, and the dealings of both with the rude tribesmen beyond. There had been a change of Government in England, and the Viceroy, "whose policy had been 'expansion and damn expense'" had resigned in disgust, and the new Viceroy abominated Imperialist ways. "Colonel Fitzhugh naturally detested the new policy; it was mean, pusillanimous, retrograde, un-English." Besides, he had a personal grievance. Nine months previously, he had, as he thought, peacefully solved a difficulty that would have entailed a punitive expedition under the late Viceroy; and, for reward, he was coldly informed that the complications had arisen from his own disregard of standing instructions, and cautioned against a like extravagance in his political bill. It is not surprising, then, that when the hill jirga came down to Mankiala, Colonel Fitzhugh took up an attitude that rendered a peaceful settlement impossible. The scene of meeting is admirably described, and the subsequent assault on the Council Rock—a blow that, after all, nipped the rising in the bud—is a very fine military picture. Incidentally, there are depicted the tortuous courses of plots and counterplots, private and public; and the interest is not lessened by Dolly's double opportunity of saving the Colonel's life from an assassin's dagger and bullet, the second time almost at the expense her own. One of the finest sketches is the subterranean operation of Fazl Ali, the Colonel's Munshi, a thorough-paced little scoundrel, who combines with his secretarial duties the office of Government newswriter and official spy on his master. This incident is taken from the period before 1861, when Sandeman, then assistant to Sir Richard Pollock, at Peshawar, put his foot down upon his own Munshi so firmly as to stamp out the system. Another incident, more recent, is thus referred to:—

> His chief's discourse had impressed Lorimer (the political assistant) but not convinced him, for he recalled a recent painful incident in our history, when an honest mistake caused a general rising of the Atriedi tribes against our expansion policy. Pondering over Colonel Fitzhugh's speech, he asked;
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> "Was the abandonment to the Atriedis of the fortress and pass of Ali Musa, whilst 12,000 troops marked time at its mouth, the act of what you call 'a fearless, honourable English gentleman'?"
>
> "No, of a fearful incapable," snapped the Resident; "but it had its uses."
>
> "Uses!" echoed Lorimer, his indignation aroused. "It and the war which followed cost pauper India nearly three millions sterling, and settled nothing."
>
> "You forget," said the Resident with quiet cynicism, "it gave 50,000 troops hill exercise, medals, and honours, and taught 'our faithful friend and ally,' the Amír, a lesson in political economy."
>
> "I cannot think of it without shame," burst from Lorimer.
>
> "Nor can any other honourable man; so drop it, and return to my Pechistanis."

The fire that animated the famous speech at Simla on June 28 last year blazes up throughout the story, and even overflows into an appendix of political notes. But Mr. Thorburn does not allow his political thesis to spoil his story, for the two forms of "transgression" are worked together with admirable deftness. The volume presents, in a most genial way, an exceedingly effective picture of the conduct of political affairs with the tribesmen of the hills. Mr. Thorburn, who has had ample personal experience, suggests how much depends upon the individual officer in charge. We hope the book will be widely read, for it deserves popularity on literary as well as on political grounds.

[1] "Transgression." By S. S. Thorburn, Bengal Civil Service. London: C. Arthur Pearson, Limited.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

OWING partly to the fact that during a portion of last week Parliament was not sitting the newspapers have had more space for what is known as "general news," and I notice that not a little of that space has been devoted to moralisings upon the awful famine which is desolating part of Russia. That the calamity is appalling is beyond all question, but I do not admire the tone of some of our papers which mingle regret with sneers at Russian administrative methods, and actually drag in sarcasms at the expense of the Peace Conference. Moreover there is just a little too much throwing up of the hands in shocked surprise at the attempts of the Russian press censors to keep back the news from the public. I am by no means a blind worshipper of Russia, and I do not like to see the liberty of the Press curtailed anywhere—but it is well to reflect upon our own similar misfortunes in India, "lest we forget," as Mr. Kipling says.

It is idle, nay it is bad, to toss recriminations to and fro in connexion with these terrible visitations, but when we denounce Russian methods as being responsible for the calamity we give our critics an obvious opening for a retort as to our own. And as to the press censorship did we not seek to keep the public in the dark when the last famine began its awful work in India? Why I remember hearing Lord George Hamilton denying the existence of any really serious want just at the moment when the public could and would have given quickly, and therefore, according to the Latin proverb, would, in effect, have given twice. No one would dream of saying that a Secretary of State would utter from his place in the House that which he knew to be false, especially when the result would be

so disastrous. It follows therefore that Lord George was in the dark as to the facts, and if he was in the dark what wonder that the whole public was deceived?

Another foreign topic which has attracted the attention not only of England but of the civilised world, is the Dreyfus case. This great drama, for it is a great drama, more exciting than the Story of the Diamond Necklace, has reached almost the final climax. And at last France is behaving in a manner worthy of a great nation, is shaking off the hideous nightmare, and is showing to the world that she has tribunals in which justice is not sought in vain. I believe the historian of the future will find in this long, involved and heartbreaking affair, perhaps the most significant incident in the history of France during this century—more really significant even than the Franco-German war. It looked at one time as though France were going to be crushed under the iron heel of militarism, and as if all sense of honour, of justice, or even a semblance of fair play were going to be sacrificed to the whims of noisy generals. I am delighted to see this danger has been avoided—glad not only for the sake of France, but for our own sake. For while this country is never likely to be completely subjected to a military despotism yet such a bad spirit is infectious, and once let the doctrine that might is right have free course and be glorified on the other side of the Channel, and all believers in that doctrine on this side would feel encouraged to strut more offensively than ever.

Mr. John Morley has made a fine pronouncement in favour of sane Imperialism since I last wrote. He sees the danger of bowing down to mere successful soldiering, and he does not hesitate to denounce the ghoulish conduct of those who are known as the body snatchers of the Sudan. Mr. Morley has a gift rare, far too rare, among public men. When he takes part in political controversy you feel, whether you agree with his views or not, that he raises the tone of the controversy out of the sordid into something higher and better. He has a fine contempt for that last infirmity of ignoble minds—the *tu quoque*. Now that Mr. Gladstone has gone I know no man other than Mr. Morley who can do this so effectually. There is a young man, with whom I scarcely ever agree, but who also introduces this element of sweetness and light into political controversy—I mean Lord Hugh Cecil, the brilliant son of the Premier. I detest his views, but one cannot listen to his advocacy of those views without recognising his absolute sincerity. And absolute sincerity is so scarce in the world of politics that I always feel inclined to take off my hat to it when I see it.

I have spoken more than once of late about Lord Rosebery, and I cannot help again regretting that a man who could do so much for the cause of progress and democracy should be so continually injuring instead of helping the cause. I notice that he is entertaining Mr. Cecil Rhodes at his Surrey house. Of course a man, even though he be a public man, has a right to choose his own friends. But just at present, when the Rhodesian Press here and in South Africa is trying to embroil us with the Transvaal Government, when delicate negotiations are in progress, I cannot help thinking it a pity that Lord Rosebery should in so ostentatious a manner take up Mr. Rhodes. I consider that gentleman one of the most dangerous elements we have in public life. He stands for the policy of unscrupulous commercial greed which attempts to hide the huckstering spirit of its aims by loud-mouthed professions of patriotism and Imperialism.

Wednesday was an interesting and yet a disappointing day in the House of Commons. To begin with it was the first day after the Whitsun recess, and it was also the Derby Day. Yet in spite of this the House was well filled. And as the subject was what is known as the Half Timers Bill, that is to say a Bill to raise the age at which the children of the poor may be removed from school and forced to begin earning wages in factories, the presence of 300 or 400 members in the House was much to their credit. But a small band of determined and unscrupulous men can easily prevent business from being done there. Certain of the Lancashire members, inspired no doubt by the more selfish and unworthy of the Lancashire operatives, managed to talk the Bill out. Yet the numbers in the divisions alone show how strongly the House approves of the measure. There were five divisions, and the numbers were 163 to 10, 177 to 18, 245 to 26, 229 to 63, and 263 to 26, or in most cases at least ten to one! Yet the Bill was for the time lost. It remains to be seen whether the Government will find facilities for its further consideration this Session.

I do not think they will. There was no Cabinet Minister present on Wednesday. Sir John Gorst was there, and his advocacy of this humane policy towards the children is deserving of all credit. The only other two members of the Government who put in an appearance were Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Jesse Collings, and they probably went to the House because they had nowhere else to go to—and I may add that it matters not much whether they were there or elsewhere. It is rumoured that the Government wants the Bill to be lost this year, as it was introduced by a Liberal, Mr. Robson, and then next year the Government will introduce it, pass it, and claim all the credit. The immediate interests of the children, of course, count for nothing among political tacticians.

Sir William Harcourt has been speaking in the country with all his old fire and dash. There is no going back to 1886 in his programme—but on the contrary he is all for advance. While he was making his speech in South Wales, and claiming that the country is more and more with the Liberals, the votes of the Southport election were being counted in Lancashire. The result was a striking confirmation of Sir William's claim, for the Liberal was returned—and not only so but he doubled the majority gained by the late member. The late member, it will be remembered, captured the seat when Lord Curzon went to India. It was said at the time that Sir H. Naylor-Leyland, who won the victory, was the only man who could do it. Now it has been repeated, and more than repeated, by another.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

Thursday, May 25.—Mr. John Morley delivered at Lydney his inaugural address as president of the Forest of Dean Liberal Association. He observed that it had been said that at present there prevailed a "hideous political apathy." He did not think it was so much apathy as rumination. The electors were, in fact, ruminating over the votes they gave in 1895. The allegation that the sectional differences in the Liberal party began in 1886 was a gross delusion. Before Home Rule was mentioned there was a marked desertion of the Liberal party by the very elements it was now sought to recover. He disputed Lord Salisbury's proposition that Home Rule was incompatible with the Imperial spirit, for Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who was the very incarnation of the Imperial spirit, gave £10,000 to Mr. Parnell's fund. He did not quarrel with the expression of sane Imperialism, but would like to know precisely what Imperialism meant, and would be content with their opponent's definition of what it implied if they would let him settle what sanity demanded. Mr. Morley proceeded to reiterate the condemnation he had uttered in the House of Commons of the desecration of the Mahdi's remains after the victory of Omdurman, and said he would not vote for any grant or mark of honour to any general, however brilliant or successful, who had been responsible for an act of barbarism so deplorable and revolting. He was for Imperialism, by all means, if it meant mercy, humanity, and justice; but if it meant our own demoralisation, the lowering of our standard of humanity, then, in the name of all we held precious, let us beware of it and resist it. Passing on to urge the necessity for social reforms, Mr. Morley dealt with the question of old-age pensions, and said the present Government had recklessly made it a party and electioneering cry and were now discovering that they had been playing with fire. The Select Committee to which they had referred it was about the least weighty and authoritative that had been appointed since the days of Simon de Montfort. Mr. Morley referred to the question of temperance reform as one of pressing importance, suggested moderation in dealing with the Transvaal difficulty, and closed by an expression of sympathy and interest in the work of the Peace Conference at The Hague.

Friday, May 26.—Commission No. 1 of the Peace Conference on disarmament and Commission No. 3 on arbitration met yesterday in the Palace in the Wood at the Hague. In the former there was reason to believe that nothing of any importance was done. No proposal was put forward. In Commission No. 3 several projects for an International Court of Arbitration were brought forward—including a very elaborate scheme comprising 40 articles submitted by the Russian delegation—and a sub-committee was appointed to study them. All the minor States were favourable to the creation of an Arbitration Court, and so were most of the large ones. The exemption of private property from seizure or confiscation was to be proposed by the United States, and seemed likely to give rise to considerable controversy in the Commission.—A depu-

tation of the British Society of Friends waited on M. de Staal and presented a memorial, drawn up at the yearly meeting held in London this week, expressing profound sympathy with the work of the Conference.

Paris Correspondents commented on the critical situation created for France by the nearness of the decision of the Court of Cassation on the Dreyfus case, the return of General Gallieni from Madagascar, the impending arrival of Major Marchand, and the approaching trial of M. Déroulède for high treason.

SATURDAY, May 27.—Commission No. 2 of the Peace Conference got through a certain amount of work with respect to the treatment of prisoners of war and the extension of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare.—The principle of arbitration having been unanimously accepted by Commission No. 3, it seemed probable that a permanent Court of Arbitration and Mediation would form the basis of the whole scheme, and the project for establishing such a permanent Court, introduced by Sir Julian Pauncefote, was expected to be adopted. The permanent Court would sit either at Berne or at the Hague.

An Ottawa correspondent said the position of affairs in regard to the Alaska difficulty was that Canada offered to refer the dispute unreservedly to international arbitration, but the United States stipulated that Canada must first agree that all the towns in the disputed strip should remain American territory. Canada declined to accept this stipulation; hence the negotiations were suspended last February, and the position of affairs had since remained unchanged.

The British Agent at Pretoria, Mr. Conyngham Green, had addressed to the President of the South African League a letter in reply to the Uitlanders' petition. He said he was instructed to say that the petition had been receiving the serious consideration of her Majesty's Government. Without expressing any opinion at this stage on the allegations contained in the petition, the Government could not but express their general sympathy with the memorialists, and were earnestly desirous of seeing a speedy and substantial change effected in their position.

It was stated from Paris that M. Ballot-Beaupré, the President of the Civil Chamber of the Court of Cassation and reporter in the Dreyfus case, closed his report by saying: "If the Court adopts the conclusions of its reporter, it will order the revision of the case, and send Alfred Dreyfus before a fresh court-martial, to be judged according to law." In that event an acquittal was certain.

MONDAY, May 29.—The united divisions of the Court of Cassation met in Paris to hear the report of M. Ballot-Beaupré on the application for revision of the Dreyfus case. Rigorous measures had been adopted for the preservation of order, but there was no attempt at disorder or manifestation of public excitement. M. Ballot-Beaupré's report presented an elaborate analysis of the evidence laid before the Court of Cassation on the whole history of the case. Dealing next with its legal aspects, he pointed out that the question to be dealt with by the Court was not the annulment of the prisoner's sentence, but the revision of the trial, and held that there was a presumption of error and doubt about the proceedings amply justifying revision. The reading of the report was still proceeding when the Court adjourned till to-day.—MM. Déroulède and Marcel Habert were brought up before the Seine Assize Court in Paris for trial on the charge of having instigated an outrage with the object of destroying or changing the Government. M. Déroulède, on being called on to plead, delivered a long speech in which he avowed that his object had been to induce General Roget to bring about a revolution in order to put an end to Parliamentarism, which was eating into the very vitals of France. The trial was adjourned.

Commission No. 1 of the Peace Conference discussed certain limitations which it was proposed to place on artillery in use in navies and fortresses. The sub-committee of Commission No. 3 was considering the Russian arbitration project, which was to be completed by Sir Julian Pauncefote's scheme for a permanent Court of arbitration.

The French Court of Cassation sat again to hear the report of M. Ballot-Beaupré on the Dreyfus revision question. Great lack of interest on the part of the general public was manifested in the proceedings, and at one point ushers had to be sent out into the Place Dauphine to persuade some sightseers to come in to make up the number in court legally required. M. Ballot-Beaupré opened the continuation of his statement by laying before the Court the arguments which might be urged by the opponents of revision, and read the address of M. Manau citing the new facts and the ten new documents tending to establish the innocence of Dreyfus in the eyes of the law. Then he asked the assembled judges, "Now, ought you to quash the conviction of ex-captain Dreyfus?" After luncheon the learned gentleman proceeded to review the fresh evidence, and then declared that the Court should, from a legal point of view, turn exclusively to the handwriting and the paper of the "bordereau," which, after a most careful examination, he had come to the conclusion was the work of Esterhazy. This statement caused great excitement, equally in the court and in the lobbies. M. Ballot-Beaupré concluded by asserting that there was ground for pronouncing in favour of a revision of the trial and of sending Dreyfus before another court-martial. M. Manau, Procureur Général, next addressed the Court.

TUESDAY, May 30.—Sir William Harcourt addressed a great meeting of his constituents at Nant-y-Glo. The Liberal party had (he said) no regrets and no remorse with reference to the past. They had experienced defeats; they had achieved great victories, and they would achieve them again. Even after the desertions of 1886 the great phalanx of the Liberal party remained faithful to the old leader and the old causes, and there was no cause more historical in the Liberal party than the cause of conciliation to Ireland. As long as Mr. Gladstone lived they stood by his flag, and when they lost him they did not abandon his colours. They stood by them now. Referring to "Imperialism," Sir William said that if he desired to be a "Little Englander" he must cease to be a British citizen, because, being a British citizen, he was necessarily a "Great Englander." As he understood it, Imperialism meant a policy which had its first regard for the countless millions and the varied interests which composed our unequalled empire, the development of their resources, the lightening of their burdens, the fostering of their national growth, the relief of distress, and the raising of the standard of all sorts and conditions of men who were the subjects of the Queen. That was a policy which had made the empire great and kept it so. There was another and exactly opposite view of an Imperial policy, which was to postpone and subordinate all those objects to the acquisition of fresh populations and the adoption of additional burdens.

Polling in the election of a member of Parliament to fill the vacancy in the representation of the Southport division caused by the death of Sir H. Naylor-Leyland took place. The candidates were Sir G. Pilkington (L) and Mr. C. B. Balfour (C.) The result was as follows:—Pilkington, 5,635; Balfour, 5,052; Liberal majority, 583. In 1895 the Conservative majority was 764, but at the by-election last year there was a Liberal majority of 272.

WEDNESDAY, May 31.—The House of Commons reassembled after the Whitsuntide recess. The Education of Children ("Half-Timers") Bill was considered in Committee, but persistent obstruction on the part of a small and noisy clique prevented the Committee stage from being completed.

The trial of MM. Déroulède and Marcel Habert was concluded in Paris, the accused being acquitted.

THE CONDITION OF INDIA.

ADDRESS BY MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

[FROM OUR OWN REPORTER.]

ON Sunday last, May 29, the "Sunday Afternoon Conference" which is held from week to week at Westbourne Park Chapel, London, for the consideration of various subjects of religious or social interest and importance was devoted to the Indian question, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji delivering an address on the present political and economic condition of India.

There was a very large attendance, which included a fair proportion of Indian gentlemen.

The chair was taken by Mr. Wallis Chapman, who, in introducing Mr. Naoroji, said there were few more responsible duties imposed on the English people than that of the government of India. They were consequently the more indebted to Mr. Naoroji for his willingness to give them the benefit of the knowledge which he had obtained during a lifetime of devotion to the cause of his and their Indian fellow-subjects.

MR. NAOROJI, who was received with cheers, said it was clear that any subject which was thought worthy of consideration on such a day and in such a place must be regarded as a grave one, and a question affecting the weal or woe of three hundred millions of people surely came within that category. Moreover, the action of the English nation in regard to the people of India was of as vital importance to themselves as it was to India, and it was not even of less vital consequence to the whole human race. For a new element had lately come into existence in the councils of the nations. A country which had hitherto confined itself, under its Monroe doctrine, to its own continent, was now coming forward to share in what was called the Imperialism of the world, and the question had already arisen which course that country should follow. The American people would unquestionably look to the government of India by the British people to see whether that government was a model for them to follow or an evil example which they should avoid, and on that account the relations between England and India were becoming more and more important to the whole human race, irrespective of the interests of those great countries. Consequently it was the duty of every voter in Great Britain to know what his responsibilities were and what the condition of India had been during the century-and-a-half of regular British administration. He would deal first with the political condition of India at the present moment, and would regard it in its two aspects—the legislative and the executive. There existed legislative councils in India, and it was generally believed that those

councils gave to the Indian people something like what they in England enjoyed in the way of representative government, and that by those means the people of India had some voice in their own government. This was simply a romance. The reality was that the Legislative Council was constituted in such a way as to give to the Government a complete and positive majority. The three or four Indians who had seats upon it might say what they liked, but what the Government of India declared was to become law did invariably become the law of the country. To take, for instance, the question of expenditure—when a Budget was brought forward in the House of Commons members went on contesting it, item by item, for six months—they saw that their constituents' interests were properly protected, and that the Government took no advantage of their power. Of course, in the British Parliament also the majority had the final word, but, whereas in that case that majority was subject to the people and could be turned out by them, in the Indian legislative councils the majority, instead of being given by the people, was managed and manipulated by the Government itself. But matters were even worse than this. The expenditure of the revenues was one of the most important points in the political condition of any country, but in India there was no such thing as a legislative Budget. The representative members had no right to propose any resolution or go to any division upon any item concerned in the Budget, which was passed simply and solely according to the despotic will of a despotic Government. The natives of India had not the slightest voice in the expenditure of the Indian revenues, and the idea that they had was the first delusion on the part of the voters of England which he wished to correct. It would be seen in what an absurd position the so-called native representatives of India were placed. In the expenditure of the revenue they had, as he had explained, not the least voice, but when the time came for the imposition of taxes they were quite welcome to impose what taxation they could upon their countrymen. Yet if they did impose additional taxes these countrymen blamed them, while if, on the other hand, they resisted any particular Bill of taxation the Government officials turned round and said, "These Indians seem to think it possible to govern a country without revenue," and this they made an argument against the capacity of the Natives to take an adequate part in the government of their country. The Legislative Council was simply and solely, he declared, a delusion and a farce, and its working constituted a worse despotism than was ever exercised by any native ruler even in the old days. An Oriental despot, when he misgoverned, acted, so to speak, like a butcher, and people were astounded and horrified; this new despotism of civilisation rather resembled a murder effected by a clever but unscrupulous surgeon who drew all the blood from his victim while leaving scarcely a scar upon the skin. Moreover, if under Oriental despotism the results to the individual were serious, they at least were not so terrible to the country. A particular victim was no doubt often despoiled of his fortune, but some favourite benefitted, and the money at least remained in the country; whereas the British—or rather anti-British—system of despotism took away year by year a greater portion of the wealth of India, with the result that at the present day the Indians under British rule were the very poorest people in the world. And it was not as if there were any necessity that this should be the case. British statesmen had in the past recognised that by a different and more righteous system of government the situation of both India and England might be vastly improved, and that the latter might make ten times more money out of India by benefitting the latter country than was at present drawn from her destruction and impoverishment. With regard to the executive portion of the Government of India, they found most emphatically realised the old saying that taxation without representation was tyranny. But he did not wish to suggest for a moment that it was the desire of the British people that this state of things should continue. On the contrary, he was so absolutely convinced that the British people did not wish that India should go on being governed on wicked lines, for they had done all they could—all save one thing—to secure that the Government of India should be carried on upon lines of righteousness. After the terrible exposures of British mis-government in and before the days of Warren Hastings the British people made a firm stand and strongly declared that India should not be subjected to such treatment any longer, with the result that in 1833 the British Government openly and decidedly stated that the Government of India should be a righteous one, and that the people of India should be treated in the same manner as the people of Great Britain. That, by the way, was the era of emancipations, among others of that which had enabled him to stand before an English constituency and, by obtaining their suffrages, to go to the House of Commons to plead his country's cause. (Hear, hear.) However, all the great statesmen of the time to which he referred declared with one voice that the Bill must pass, no matter what the consequences might be, and it did pass, its general effect being that no native of India should by virtue of his religion or descent be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company. It might be asked what more than that the Indian people wanted, and he replied that they wanted nothing more—except that the British people should carry into effect honourably the Act they had passed. In 1853 there was a revision of the Act, when Lord Stanley of that day—the late Earl of Derby—Mr. Bright and other true Britons protested that the measure was completely and wholly a dead letter. But the Government of India and the Indian authorities nevertheless continued to act upon the one principle that the Indian Services were their monopoly, not to be encroached upon by any other persons, and the representations of Lord Stanley and Mr. Bright were not listened to. Then came the Mutiny, upon which he did not wish to touch beyond saying that if it was anyone's fault it was the fault of the British Government and their Indian Governor-General. However, it was for the most part Indians who, even in the Mutiny, saved the British Empire in India. Lord George Hamilton talked glibly of the manner in which the British Empire had been built up by the expenditure of British treasure and the spilling of British blood. Well, much of the blood spilt in building up the Empire had been Indian blood, while with regard to treasure the British people had not spent a single farthing in creating or upholding it so far as the Indian portion of it was concerned. They had, on the contrary, constrained the wretched Indian natives to contribute the whole cost, and were still drawing from India year by year millions upon millions to the still greater impoverishment and destruction of the Indian people. That, however, was somewhat by the way. After the Mutiny, when British power was re-established, the true British spirit was at once aroused, and once more the generous declaration went forth in the shape of a Proclamation from the Throne: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory," the proclamation ran, "by the same obligations of duty which bind ourselves to our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and earnestly fulfil. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, shall be freely and impartially admitted in our services for the duties which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity properly to discharge. . . . . In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to us and those in authority under us strength to carry out these, our wishes, for the good of our people." But did the British people feel that in the impoverishment of India they could be strong or that they could be secure while India, far from being content, was terribly suffering? As to their reward he would not say at that moment what cause there was for gratitude or how much of it prevailed, but he would repeat that, even putting matters on the very low platform of selfishness, the British nation would derive ten times more profit from India than was the case at present if they would only alter their treatment. (Hear, hear.) Similar proclamations had been issued since—when the Queen was declared Empress of India and at the Jubilee, but all these solemn obligations and Acts of Parliament had been and were being scattered to the winds in order that Anglo-Indian officials might keep in their hands the monopoly of Indian Government and might provide for their boys. (Hear, hear.) What were the economic consequences of this state of things? They were summed up in the declaration of Lord Salisbury himself that India must be "bled," and was the principle on which the whole present system of Indian government was based. Lord Salisbury coolly and deliberately, in the memorandum to which he referred, admitted that India was injured by the drain that was constantly going on in the way of the exportation of so much revenue without any direct equivalent, and went on to say that as the great mass of the people, the agricultural community, had no more blood remaining in them, the lancet should be applied to those parts where the blood was congested or at least sufficient. He had said enough, he thought, to show how the unhappy Indian natives were regarded by Anglo-Indian officials. The lot of the former, indeed, was somewhat worse than that of the slaves in America in old days, for the masters had an interest in keeping them alive, if only that they had a money value. But if an Indian died, or if a a million died, there was another or there were a million others ready to take his or their places and to be the slaves of British officials in their turn. Who, he asked in conclusion, was responsible for all this? The British people might ask, "What more can we do? We have declared that India shall be governed upon righteous lines." Yes, but their servants had not obeyed their instructions, and theirs was the responsibility and upon their heads was the blood of the millions who were starving year by year. For their own sakes, as well as for the sake of the Indian people, it was time that they awoke. They were so taken up at present by the extension of their Empire that they little dreamed of a day which might come at any moment when their existing Empire might suffer an upheaval which would shatter it to pieces. He held out no threats, but that would be the natural consequence of an iniquitous and unjust system of Government, as had been declared by Lord Salisbury when he said that injustice would bring down the mightiest kingdom. (Applause.)

Subsequently a series of questions were put to Mr. Naoroji, who answered them in considerable detail. He declared that famines were far less harmful in the feudatory States than in that part of India which was under direct British rule, because those States lost nothing by their subjection to Great Britain except the small tribute paid yearly, and were consequently improving their position every day, and were enabled to establish a reserve fund and Treasury balances, out of which the people could be helped in time of need. For these feudatory States he admitted that British supremacy was a blessing. The average annual income of the natives of India per head had, he said in answer to another question, been estimated by the present Lord Cromer as not more than twenty-seven rupees, but his own belief was that, at the present rate of exchange, it was not more than 25s. Let them contrast that with the average annual income per head of the people of Great Britain, which was estimated at £41.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Naoroji was moved by Miss Annie Lee-Brown, secretary of the local Women's Liberal Association, and seconded by Mr. Martin Wood, late of Bombay, who said the best method in which those present could express their thanks would be to study the subject and bring to bear such influence as they possessed with a view to remedying the condition of things of which they had heard.

The vote was heartily carried, and Mr. Naoroji having briefly returned thanks the meeting concluded.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, May 12.

The publication of the Blue-book on the Sugar Act on your side and of select extracts from two of the despatches of the Government of India on the same subject on our side have put altogether a new aspect on the situation which, however, emphasises the view India has taken, and every way accentuates the conclusions arrived at by those organs of Indian public opinion, few and far between, which have from the outset taken an attitude the very opposite of the unthinking majority. The cloven foot of Mr. Chamberlain is to be discerned clearly, and it is now established beyond doubt that the legislation, though ostensibly put forward in the interests of producers and consumers, was really brought into existence to favour the handful of influential sugar planters of the Mauritius. The political morality of the whole affair now stands confessed. And it remains to be seen how the Finance Minister, who signed the despatch of May 5, 1898, reconciles his conscience with that of January 20, 1899.

The Indian journals have as yet said next to nothing on the fresh development of the controversy. Perhaps they await the receipt of the Blue-book here. Neither has there yet appeared anything worth noticing on the topic in the Anglo-Indian journals. By this time they might, under other circumstances, have said a great deal. But for the present they hold their peace. Perhaps they also await the receipt of the Blue-book. Very meagre information is supplied by Reuter as to the trend of English public opinion. But everything will now depend on the debate for which no date has been fixed. The result can be safely discounted beforehand. It would be idle to expect that Sir Henry Fowler will gain the day and the Act be disallowed while the Government is in possession of a strong majority. But where the honours of the argument will lie it is not difficult to forecast.

The Calcutta Municipal Bill still holds attention. The able minutes of dissent recorded by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and the Hon. Mr. Norendranath Sen are most exhaustive, and pulverise the very bald and inconclusive report of the Select Committee. Meanwhile Mr. Mohanlal Mookerjee has brought to light in a pamphlet recently issued the disgraceful condition of sanitation in the suburban Municipality of Howrah, where is the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. This municipality, it should be noted, is entirely managed by officials. The President is the District Magistrate, and there is the chief sanitary officer and engineer of Government. The suburb remains partially cleansed—more than half of the daily filth and garbage remains unremoved from day to day. The water supply is most inefficient. Over two thousand tanks remain uncleansed, many of them in a most foul condition. The death-rate is 38 per 1,000, and it is a wonder that it is not more. And all this gross negligence is discernible under the very eye and nose of the Lieutenant-Governor, but no reform has been yet contemplated. While this is the discreditable condition of the sanitation of Howrah they are barking and carping at the Calcutta Corporation, which during its twenty-three years of existence has shown such good sanitary work and progress. How can the authors of the new Calcutta Bill reconcile the insanitary state of affairs in Howrah with the admirable sanitary condition of Calcutta? This is the spirit in which legislation proceeds in India.

The trade and navigation returns for the twelve months ending March 31, 1899, are just published. There is no time to refer to them at length. But the broad facts may be briefly stated. Compared with the previous year, there is a net decrease in value of goods amounting to Rs. 94,68,717 in imports and an increase of Rs. 15,56,56,318 in exports. The latter are easily intelligible. The largest increases are as under:—

	Rs.
Rice	4,10,81,117
Wheat	8,45,87,180
Opium	1,02,84,461
Cotton	2,31,43,837
Oilseeds	3,28,72,624

There has been material diminution only in one staple article, namely, jute, the value of which decreased by Rs. 3,18,87,464. The principal increase in the value of imports was in

Cotton Goods	1,62,40,044

But metals decreased by 1 crore, sugar by 76 lakhs, and cotton yarn by 94 lakhs.

The total trade for the triennial period is as follows:

Merchandise (in Crores of Rupees).

	Imports.	Exports.
1896-97	71.91	103.91
1897-98	69.41	97.55
1898-99	68.47	112.72

Treasure (in Crores).

	Imports.	Exports.
1896-97	13.07	4.92
1897-98	10.47	7.13
1898-99	17.83	7.40

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

[By one of the lecturers.]

The lecture season that has just ended has been an exceptionally busy one for the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Never before have so many meetings been arranged in this country on Indian questions. Over one hundred public meetings have been held in the largest towns of England, the attendances have been all that could be desired, both in quantity and quality, and the information imparted by the lecturers has been both educational and inspiriting to the audience. Not only have the largest towns, *e.g.*, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle, Nottingham, Plymouth, Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Bolton and Stockport, been visited, but most of the county boroughs and even some of the largest mining and agricultural villages—the seed has been sown broadcast over the land. In no part of the country has the success of the lectures been so great as in Lancashire. The halls have been crowded, the discussion after the lecture has been intelligent and earnest, and the sympathy for Indian sufferings, once realized, has been keenly felt. But in other counties the success of the meetings has been great. The hard-headed Yorkshireman has been roused. After one of the lectures in a Liberal Club near Huddersfield, a workingman came up to the lecturer and said, "We did not know India was governed in the despotic manner you have described. We did not know the India Office was so slow to carry out and initiate these necessary reforms. Go about and tell these things to English working men and women, and India's wrongs will soon be righted."

There is much need of the addresses. Since this Government has come into office India has been afflicted by the three greatest calamities that can scourge any nation—war, famine, and plague. The lecturers of the British Committee have shown that the war was the inevitable result of the blunders of the forward policy; and by means of a large map, drawn by one of the lecturers, showing the North-West frontier as it stands today and as it stood in 1876, marking roads, railways, mountains and desert, the natural boundaries of India's frontier have been clearly shown and the so-called "scientific" frontier exposed. The speakers have explained how famines might be mitigated if India's resources were husbanded and spent in developing the country, if the system of governing the people were more sympathetic and less rigid; they have shown how plagues are but the outcome of the privations of famine and the congestion of the densely populated cities. The Englishman of the type that attends the meetings is beginning to understand this. He is not a hard-hearted man. He has no wish to oppress subject races. He has no vested interests to defend. His fault is that of Gallio—he cares for none of these things, till a lecturer recites the wrongs of India and interests him in that far-off land. Once his apathy is shaken off he responds with alacrity to an appeal for justice and hastens to swell the army of reformers who wish to see justice reign in all lands ruled by the Queen. The ordinary Englishman is not gifted with a brilliant imagination. India is to him the name of a large country which belongs to England—a country where the climate is hot and the inhabitants wear cotton-cloth of Lancashire manufacture and use silver rupees (whose fluctuation affects the Stock Exchange) for their currency instead of gold. Bishop Heber's lines about "India's coral strand" are familiar to him. Her vast plains and snow-clad mountains fill in the outline of the picture, and he is content to be hazy as to the rest. The Government of India is still less known. "There is a Viceroy and a Council of some sort," he tells you, "and then our Queen is Empress of India." To such a man a lecture illustrated by lime-light views is a revelation. Pictures of the vast temples and mosques with their magnificent gateways and carvings and a brief sketch of the main characteristics of the faiths worshipped in them; the beautiful cities of Delhi, Agra, Benares, Madras, and Calcutta, etc., etc.; the grandeur of the marble palaces of Shah Jehan and the peerless beauty of the Taj Mahal—these views impress an audience as no word-picture could. England has done much to civilise many parts of the world, but here is a land whose proudest glories existed before the name of England was whispered there. Then, too, the accounts of village-life in India are vastly interesting to the Briton. The Local Government

Act of 1894 established Parish Councils in every village of England; but what is the astonishment of the villagers to hear of the Panchayets, with greater powers and wider influence, that have existed in India for perhaps a score of centuries. The old relations between the creditor and debtor that the wisdom of the Eastern law enacted—that the creditor cannot legally exact from the debtor a greater amount in interest than was originally lent in principal—astounds with its good sense a nation that only in this year of our Lord, 1899, is witnessing a law being passed through the House of Lords regulating in a mild way the encroachments of the money-lender in our own little island. The famine pictures are eloquent in their appeal to the sympathies of the people. The gaunt, flesh-coloured skeletons, shadows of what the human frame should be, tell their own tale of woe, without any exposition from the lecturer. The frequency of the recurring famines in the nineteenth century, the appalling death-rate of the last eighty years, startle the politician into asking—Is there not a cause? Then suggestions of management (many on the lines of Sir William Wedderburn's proposals) are made by the speaker, who, while giving credit to the Indian Government for its readiness to grapple with the famine distress, reminds his hearers that "Prevention is better than cure."

The manners and customs of the Indians are an endless source of interest to the people of the West; so, too, is their religion. The suggestive mysteries of re-incarnation, the veneration for animal life, the simplicity and purity of diet, all tend to rouse our sympathy and respect for our fellow-subjects of the East and to remind us how much they can teach us when we have the humility to learn.

The annual meeting of the Congress and a summary of its resolutions and speeches make a very interesting lecture for Liberal Clubs. Englishmen have won freedom for themselves through long centuries of struggle against the oppression of kings, nobles and plutocrats. Nothing stirs them more than allusions to their victories of the past. But there is something greater even than fighting for one's own liberty, and that is to see men, secure themselves against oppression, fighting for the liberty of others.

> "Happy are all free peoples, too strong to be dispossessed,
> But blessed are those amongst nations that dare to be strong for the rest!"

An appeal is never made in vain to their chivalry in fighting for the liberty of millions of men removed from themselves in country, race and colour, but united by the common bond of being fellow-subjects of the Queen. But an Englishman likes to see the object of his sympathy joining in that struggle, too. That nation is worth helping that is doing its best to help itself.

> "Who would be free,
> Himself must strike the blow."

And the picture of the Congress, attended by delegates from all parts of that vast empire, eloquently appealing against their wrongs, intelligently discussing great and difficult problems, is an object lesson to a people with Parliaments, Leagues, and Congresses of their own. Nothing strikes the audience more than the moderation of the demands of the Congress. If quiet work, sensible views, and earnest determination succeed, the Congress indeed deserves to meet with a full measure of praise and reward.

On one occasion I asked Mr. Alfred Webb the best way to get some social wrong righted, and he replied: "Agitate, agitate, agitate!" Even so we tell our friends in India that though this constitutional agitation seems a slow process, it is a sure one. Once the people of England comprehend Indian political problems India's day of emancipation is not far off. The British Committee appeal to all sections of the community, without distinction of class, sex or party, but they know that those who are keenest in their desire to do justice to their own countrymen will be the quickest to respond to India's cry; therefore to a very large extent the meetings have been held by members of the Liberal party, and when once again the Government appeals to the country they trust the result of the general election will be to return the Liberals to power, and that on the programme of that party may appear some definite reforms for India.

LECTURE SEASON, 1898-9.

130 Public Meetings.

The season for political meetings in England may be said roughly to begin in September and to end in April—that is, during the months May, June, July and August it is not easy to get a good audience for a political address. Appended is a list of meetings addressed by members of, or lecturers on behalf of, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress during the past season, beginning September 6, 1898, and ending May 28, 1899. It will be seen from this catalogue, which is not exhaustive, that some 130 meetings were held during the period specified.

1898.
Sept. 6.—Newcastle.
„ 28.—Bideford.
„ 29.—Morthoe.
„ 30.—Princetown.
Oct. 6.—Torrington.
„ 11.—Honiton.
„ 14.—London.
„ 16.—Leeds.
„ 17.—Ardwick.
„ 18.—Hackney.
„ 18.—Croydon.
„ 25.—Manchester.
„ 26.—Westminster Town Hall.
„ 27.—Heywood.
Nov. 6.—Manchester.
„ 10.—Blackpool.
„ 14.—Shepton Mallet.
„ 14.—Wigton.
„ 14.—Chorlton.
„ 15.—Castleton.
„ 16.—Chorley.
„ 17.—Atherton.
„ 17.—Gloucester.
„ 17.—Aspatria.
„ 18.—Keswick.
„ 18.—Lostock.
„ 22.—Manchester.
„ 23.—Burnham-on-Crouch.
„ 28.—Paddington.
Dec. 1.—Huddersfield.
„ 4.—Huddersfield.
„ 6.—Bradford.
„ 7.—Stockport.
„ 8.—Milnsbridge.
„ 9.—Outlave.
„ 10.—Colne.
„ 12.—Cricklade.
„ 12.—Stretford.
„ 12.—Blackley.
„ 13.—Oldham.
„ 13.—Heaton Park.
„ 14.—Failsworth.
„ 15.—Rossendale.
1899.
Jan. 9.—Ealing.
„ 11.—Torquay.
„ 13.—Plymouth.
„ 16.—Stoke.
„ 17.—Mevagissey.
„ 17.—Hyde.
„ 18.—Darwen.
„ 18.—St. Austell.
„ 19.—Devonport.
„ 20.—Birmingham.
„ 22.—Manchester.
Jan. 22.—Hanley.
„ 23.—Bilston.
„ 24.—Burton-on-Trent.
„ 25.—Padiham.
„ 26.—Liverpool.
„ 27.—Horwich.
„ 29.—Lewisham.
„ 30.—Wigan.
Feb. 2.—Accrington.
„ 3.—Skipton.
„ 6.—Islington.
„ 6.—Wibsey.
„ 7.—Bradford.
„ 8.—Elland.
„ 9.—East Bradford.
„ 12.—Bradford.
„ 13.—Hull.
„ 15.—Scarborough.
„ 21.—West Hartlepool.
„ 21.—Warrington.
„ 22.—Preston.
„ 22.—Berwick.
„ 27.—Bolton.
„ 28.—Hove Edge.
Mar. 1.—Littleborough.
„ 2.—Elland.
„ 3.—Elland.
„ 4.—Brighouse.
„ 9.—Nottingham.
„ 11.—Nottingham.
„ 12.—Highgate.
„ 13.—Kettering.
„ 14.—Westminster.
„ 14.—Burton-Latimer.
„ 20.—Carlisle.
„ 21.—Weston-super-Mare.
„ 22.—Watchet.
„ 23.—Bridgwater.
„ 24.—Sidcot.
„ 27.—Cheetham Hill.
„ 28.—Burnley.
April 14.—Manchester.
„ 17.—Bedlington.
„ 18.—Morpeth.
„ 19.—Brighouse.
„ 20.—Dewsbury.
„ 20.—Guidepost.
„ 23.—Rochdale.
„ 24.—Norden.
„ 25.—Rochdale.
„ 26.—Heywood.
„ 27.—Burnley.
„ 30.—London.
May 1.—Carlton.
„ 3.—Benson.
„ 28.—Westbourne Park, London.

In addition to the meetings included in the foregoing list, members of the British Committee have addressed meetings in Lancashire on January 16 and 19; at Dumbarton, December 10; Lambeth, March 1; and Clapham, February 22.

Indian questions have also been introduced into addresses on current politics at the following places:—

1898.
Nov. 15.—Carlisle.
„ 22.—Kelvedon.
„ 30.—Carlton.
Dec. 16.—Heavitree.
1899.
Jan. 9.—Devonport.
„ 28.—Denton.
Feb. 1.—Milnrow.
„ 10.—Cowling.
„ 11.—Sowerby Bridge.
„ 14.—Bridlington.
„ 20.—Redcar.
Mar. 17.—Kilburn.
April 4.—Cambo.
„ 5.—Maryport.
May 4.—Stokenchurch.

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"INDIA," 1898.

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